

THE
C R I S I S:
OR, A
DISCOURSE

REPRESENTING,
From the most Authentick RECORDS,
The just Causes of the late
Happy REVOLUTION:

A N D

The several Settlements of the Crowns of *England* and
Scotland on Her MAJESTY: and on the Demise of
Her Majesty without Issue, upon the Most Illustri-
ous Princess *SOPHIA*, Electress and Dutches
Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of Her Body,
being Protestants; by previous Acts of both Parlia-
ments of the late Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*,
and confirm'd by the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

WITH SOME
SEASONABLE REMARKS
on the Danger of a *Popish* Successor.

*In vitis ea tanquam Vulnera attingo; Sed nisi tacta tractataq; sanari
non possunt. Liv.*

By *RICHARD STEELE*, Esq;

The Second Edition,

Done in a smaller Character, and contains all the Matter in the
Twelve-Penny Book.

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Gift of William Endicott, Jr.
 TO THE

CLERGY

Of the Church of *ENGLAND*.

Gentlemen,

IT is with a just Deference to your great Power and Influence in this Kingdom, that I lay before you the following Comment upon the Laws which regard the Settlement of the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*. My purpose in addressing these Matters to You, is to conjure You, as Heaven has blessed You with proper Talents and Opportunities, to recommend them, in Your Writings and Discourses to your Fellow Subjects.

In the Character of Pastors and Teachers, You have an almost Irresistible Power over us of Your Congregations; and by the admirable Institution of our Laws, the Tenthhs of our Lands, now in Your Possession, are destined to become the Property of such others, as shall by Learning and Virtue qualifie themselves to succeed You. These Circumstances of Education and Fortune, place the Minds of the People, from Age to Age, under your Direction: As therefore it would be the highest Indiscretion in Ministers of State of this Kingdom, to neglect the Care of being acceptable to You in their Administration; so it would be the greatest Impiety in you, to enflame the People committed to Your Charge with Apprehensions of Danger to You and Your Constitution, from Men innocent of any such Designs.

Give *me* Leave, who have in all my Words and Actions, from my Youth upwards, maintained an inviolable Respect to You and Your Order, to observe to You, That all the Dissatisfactions which have been raised in the Minds of the people, owe their Rise to the Cunning of artful Men, who have introduced the Mention of You and Your Interest (which are sacred to all good Men) to cover and sanctifie their own Practices upon the Affections of the People, for ends very different from the promotion of Religion and Virtue. Give *me* Leave also to take Notice, that these

DEDICATION.

these Suggestions have been favoured by some unwary Men in holy Orders, who have made the Constitution of their own Country a very little part of their Study, and yet made Obedience and Government the frequent Subjects of their Discourses.

These Men, from the pompous Ideas of Imperial Greatness, and Submission to absolute Emperors, which they imbibed in their earlier Years, have from time to time inadvertently uttered Notions of *Power* and *Obedience* abhorrent from the Laws of this their Native Country.

D. I will take the further Liberty to say, That if the Acts of Parliament mentioned in the following Treatise had been from time to time put in a fair and clear Light, and been carefully recommended to the perusal of young Gentlemen in Colleges, with a preference to all other Civil Institutions whatsoever; this Kingdom had not been in its present Condition, but the Constitution would have had, in every Member the Universities have sent into the World ever since the Revolution, an Advocate for our Rights and Liberties.

There is one thing which deserves Your most serious Consideration. You have bound Your Selves by the strongest Engagements that Religion can lay upon Men, to support that Succession which is the Subject of the following Papers: You have tied down Your Souls by an Oath to maintain it as it is settled in the House of *Hanover*; nay, You have gone much further than is usual in Cases of this Nature, as You have *Personally* Abjured the Pretender to this Crown, and that expressly, without any Equivocations or mental Reservations whatsoever; that is, without any possible Escapes, by which the Subtlety of temporizing Casuists might hope to elude the Force of these solemn Obligations. You know much better than I do, whether the calling God to witness to the Sincerity of Your Intentions in these Cases, whether the swearing upon the holy Evangelists in the most solemn Manner, whether the taking of an Oath before Multitudes of Fellow Subjects and Fellow Christians, in our publick Courts of Justice, do not lay the greatest Obligations that can be laid on the Consciences of Men. This I am sure of, that if the Body of a Clergy who considerately and voluntarily entered into these Engagements, should be made use of as Instruments and Examples to make the Nation break through them, not only the Succession to our Crown, but the very Essence of our Religion is in Danger. What a Triumph would it furnish to those evil Men among us who are Enemies to Your Sacred Order? What Occasion would

it administer to Atheists and Unbelievers, to say that Christianity is nothing else but an outward Show and Pretence among the most knowing of its Professors? What could we afterwards object to Jesuits? What would be the Scandal brought upon our holy Church, which is at present the Glory and Bulwark of the Reformation? how would our present Clergy appear in the Eyes of their Posterity, and even to the Successors of their own Orders under a Government Introduced and Established by a Conduct so directly opposite to all the Rules of Honour and Precepts of Christianity?

As I always speak and think of your holy Order with the utmost Deference and Respect, I do not insist upon this Subject to insinuate that there is such Disposition among your venerable Body but to shew how much our own Honour and the Interest of Religion is concerned, that there should be no Cause given for it.

Under Colour of a Zeal towards you, Men may sometimes act not only with Impunity but Popularity, what would render them without that Hypocrisy, insufferably odious to their Fellow-Subjects.

Under this Pretence Men may presume to practice such Arts for the Destruction and Dishonour of their Country, as it would be impious to make use of even for its Glory and Safety: Men may do in the highest Prosperity, what it would not be excusable to attempt under the lowest Necessity!

The Laws of our Country, the Powers of the Legislature, the Faith of Nations, and the Honour of God, may be too weak Considerations to bear up against the popular tho' groundless Cry of the Church. This fatal Prepossession may shelter Men in raising the French Name and Roman Catholick Interest in Great Britain, and consequently in all Europe.

It behoves You therefore, Gentlemen, to consider whether the Cry of the Church's Danger may not at length become a Truth: And as you are Men of Sense and Men of Honour, to exert yourselves in undeceiving the Multitude, whenever their affectionate Concern for you may prove fatal to themselves.

You are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, and knowing Gentry, who can distinguish your Merit, and do Honour to your Characters. They know with what Firmness as Englishmen, with what Self denial as Prelates, with what Charity as Christians, the Lords the Bishops, Fathers of the Church, have behaved themselves in the Publick Cause: They know what Contumelies the rest of the Clergy have undergone, what Discountenance they have laboured

Christianity poured under, what Prejudice they have suffered in their Ministry, who have adhered to the Cause of Truth : But it is certain that the Face of things is now too melancholy to bear any longer false Appearances ; and common danger has united Men, who not long ago were artfully inflamed against each other, into some Regard to their common Safety.

When the World is in this Temper, those of our Pastors, whose exemplary Lives and charitable Dispositions both adorn and advance our holy Religion, will be the Objects of our Love and Admiration ; and those who pursue the Gratifications of Pride, Ambition and Avarice, under the sacred Character of Clergymen, will not fail to be our Contempt and Derision.

Noise and Wrath cannot always pass for Zeal ; and if we see but little of the publick Spirit of Englishmen, or the Charity of Christians in others, it is certain we can feel but little of the Pleasure of Love and Gratitude, and but faint Emotions of Respect and Veneration in our selves.

It will be an Action worthy the Ministers of the *Church of England*, to distinguish themselves for the Love of their Country ; and as we have a Religion that wants no Assistance from Artifice or Enlargement of Secular Power, but is well supported by the Wisdom and Piety of its Preachers, and its own native Truth, to let Mankind see that we have a Clergy who are of the People, obedient to the same Laws, and zealous not only of the Supremacy and Prerogative of our Princes, but of the Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects. This will make us who are your Flock burn with Joy to see, and with Zeal to imitate your Lives and Actions. It cannot be expected but that there will be, in so great a Body, light, superficial, vain, and ambitious Men, who being untouched to the sublime Force of the Gospel, will think it their Interest to insinuate Jealousies between the Clergy and Laity, in Hopes to derive from their Order a Veneration which they know they cannot deserve from their Virtue. But while the most worthy, conspicuous, learned, and powerful of your sacred Function are moved by the noble and generous Incentives of doing Good to the Souls of Men, we will not doubt of seeing by your Ministry the Love of our Country, due Regard for our Laws and Liberties, and Resentment for the Abuse of Truth, revive in the Hearts of Men. And as there are no Instruments under Heaven so capable of this great Work, that God would make You such to this divided Nation, is the hearty Prayer of,

Gentlemen, Your most dutiful, and most obedient humble Servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

PREFACE.

I Never saw an unruly Crowd of People cool by Degrees into Temper, but it gave me an Idea of the Original of Power and the Nature of Civil Institutions. One particular Man has usually those Cases, from the Dignity of his Appearance, or other Qualities known or imagined by the Multitude, been received into sudden Power and Authority; the Occasion of their Difference has been referred to him, and the Matter referred to his Decision.

This first Step towards acting reasonably has brought them to themselves; and when the Person, by an Appeal to whom they first were taken out of Confusion, was gone from amongst them, they have calmly taken further Measures from a Sense of their common Good.

Absolute unlimited Power in one Person seems to have been the first and natural Recourse of Mankind from Disorder and Rapine, and such a Government must be acknowledged to be better than no Government at all: But all Restrictions of Power made by Laws and Participation of Sovereignty among several Persons, are apparent Improvements made upon what began in that unlimited Power. The first is what seems reasonable to common Sense; and the Manner of maintaining absolute Dominion in one Person, wherever it subsists, verifies the Observation: For the Subjection of the People to such Authority is supported only by Terrors, sudden and private Executions and Imprisonments; and not as with happy Britons, by the Judgment, Wholesomes of Liberty and Property, of the Peers, and Neighbours of Men accused or prosecuted. This absolute Power in one Person, as it is generally exercised, is not indeed Government, but at best clandestine Tyranny, supported by the Confederates, or rather Favourite Slaves of the Tyrant.

I was glad to find this natural Sense of Power confirmed in me by very great and good Men, who have made Government, and the Principles on which it is founded, their professed Study and Meditation.

A very celebrated Author has these Words:

The Case of Man's Nature standing as it does, some kind of Regiment the Law of Nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, Nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice a thing arbitrary. At the first, when some certain kind of Regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the Manner of Governing, but all permitted unto their Wisdom and Discretion which were to rule, till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a Remedy, did indeed but increase the Sore which it should have cured. They saw that to be by one Man's Will became the Cause of all Mens Misery. This constrained them to come unto Laws, wherein all Men might see their Duties beforehand, and know the Penalties of transgressing them. Men always knew that when Force and Injury was offered, they might be Defenders of themselves; they knew that howsoever Men might seek their own Commodity, yet if this were done with Injury to others, it was not to be suffered, but by all means and by all good Means to be withstood.

Finally, They knew that no Man might in Reason take upon him to determine his own Right, and according to his own Determination proceed in Maintenance thereof, inasmuch as every man is towards himself, and them whom he greatly affecteth, partial; and therefore that Strifes and Troubles would be endless, except they gave their common Consent all to be ordered by Laws, to whom they should agree upon.

Mr. Stanhope, in *Defence of Resistance in Cases of extream Necessity*, cites this memorable Passage from Grotius.

If the King hath one part of the Supream Power, and the other part is in the Senate or People; when such a King shall invade that part that doth not belong to him, it shall be lawful to oppose just Force to him, because his Power doth not extend so far: Which position I hold to be true, even though the power of making War should be vested only in the King, which must be understood to relate only to Foreign War: For as for Home, it is impossible for any to have a Share of the Supream Power, and not to have likewise a Right to defend that Share.

An eminent Divine, who deserves all Honour for the Obligations he has laid upon both Church and State, by his *Writings on the Subject of Government*, argues against Unlimited Power thus;

The Question is, Whether the Power of the Civil Magistrate be unlimited? that is, in other Words, Whether the Nature of his Office require it to be so? But what? Is it the End of that Office

Office that one particular Person may do what he pleaseth without Restraint? Or that Society should be made happy and secure? Who will say to the former? And if the latter be the true End of it, a less power than absolute will answer it. Nay, an absolute Power is a Power to destroy that End, and therefore Inconsistent with the End it self.

These Passages I thought fit to produce by way of Preface, to the following Discourse, as carrying in them the Reason and Foundation of Government it self, and in Maintenance of what passed at the Revolution.

I shall only beg Leave to add to them one very great Living Authority, the present Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, who in a late famous Tryal, did openly before Queen, Lords and Commons, maintain the Lawfulness of the Revolution under the Notion of Resistance, and assert before the most solemn and august Assembly of Europe, that there are extraordinary Cases, Cases of Necessity, which are implied, tho' not expressed in the General Rule; that is, which are so plain and so open to the common Sense of Mankind, that even whilst you are declaring Resistance in all Cases to be unlawful, you are of necessity understood to mean, that Resistance in some Cases is lawful. I am pleased to observe, that no one ever put the Matter so strongly, or carried it so high as this great Man did upon that Critical Occasion. At the same time he was so just to his Country, as to declare, That such a Case undoubtedly the Revolution was, when our late unhappy Sovereign then upon the Throne, misled by evil Counsellors, endeavoured to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

The C R I S I S, &c.

IT is every Man's Duty to correct the Extravagances of his Will, in order to enjoy Life as becomes a rational Being ; but we cannot possess our Souls with Pleasure and Satisfaction, except we preserve to our selves that inestimable Blessing which we call Liberty. By Liberty I desire to be understood to mean, the Happiness of Mens Living under Laws of their own making by their personal Consent, or that of their Representatives.

Without this, the Distinctions amongst Mankind are but gentler Degrees of Misery ; for as the true Life of Man consists in conducting it according to his own just Sentiments and innocent Inclinations, his Being is degraded below that of a free Agent, which Heaven has made him, when his Affections and Passions are no longer govern'd by the Dictates of his own Mind, and the Interests of humane Society, but by the arbitrary unrestrained Will of another.

Without Liberty, even Health, and Strength, and all the Advantages bestowed on us by Nature and Providence, may at the Will of a Tyrant be employ'd to our own Ruin, and that of our Fellow Creatures.

Liberty is essential to our Happiness, and they who resign Life it self rather than part with it, do only a prudent Action ; but those who lay it down, and voluntarily expose themselves to Death, in behalf of their Friends and Country, do an heroick One. The more exalted Part of our Species are moved by such generous Impulses as these ; but even the Community, the Mass of Mankind, when convinc'd of the Danger of their Civil Rights, are anxious of preserving to themselves that dearest of all Possessions, Liberty.

The late Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* have contended for it from Age to Age, with two great a Price of Blood and Treasure to be given for the Purchase of any other Blessing ; but laid out Parsimoniously, when we consider they have transmitted this to their Posterity.

But since, by I know not what Fatality, we are of late grown supine, and our Anxiety for it is abated, in Proportion to the Danger to which it is every Day more exposed, by the artful and open Attacks of the Enemies of our Constitution ; it is a seasonable and honest Office to look into our Circumstances, and let the Enemies of our present Establishment behold the Securities which the Laws of our Country have given those who dare assert their Liberties, and the Terrors which they have pronounced against those who dare undermine them. For, whatever is the Prospect before our Eyes, it is the Business of every honest Man to look up with a Spirit that be-

comes Honesty, and to do what in him lies for the Improvement of our present Condition, which nothing but our own Pusillanimity can make desperate.

The most destructive Circumstance in our Affairs seems to be, that by the long and repeated Insinuations of our Enemies, many are worn into a kind of doubt of their own Cause, and think with Patience of what is suggested in favour of contrary Pretensions. The most obvious Method of reviving the proper Sentiments in the Minds of Men for what they ought to esteem most dear, is to shew, That our Cause has in it all the Sanctions of Honour, Truth and Justice: and that we are, by all the Laws of God and Man, entitled in a Condition of enjoying Religion, Life, Liberty, and Property, rescued from the most imminent Danger of having them all for ever depend upon the Arbitrary Power of a Popish Prince.

We should have been chained down in this abject Condition in the Reign of the late King *James*, had not God Almighty in Mercy given us the late happy Revolution, by that glorious Instrument of his Providence the great and memorable King *VWilliam*. But tho' this wonderful Deliverance happened as it were but Yesterday yet such is the Inadvertency or Ingratitude of some amongst us, that they seem not only to have forgotten the Deliverer, but even the Deliverance it self. Old Men act as if they believed the Danger which then hung over their Heads was only a Dream, the wild Effects of ill-grounded imaginary Fears; and young Men, as if they had never heard from their Fathers, nor read of what passed in this Kingdom, at a Period no farther backward than the Space of Five and Twenty Years,

I flatter my self, that if the Passages which happen'd in those Days, the Resolutions of the Nation thereupon, and the just Provisions made from Time to Time against our falling into the same Disasters, were fairly stated and laid in one View, all indirect Arts and mean Subtilties practised to weaken our Securities would be frustrated, and vanish before the glaring Light of Law and Reason.

I shall not govern my self on this Occasion by the partial Relation of particular Persons or Parties, but by the Sense of the whole People, by the Sense of the Houses of Lords and Commons, the representative Body of the whole Nation, in whose Resolutions, according to the different State of Things, the Condition of the Kingdom, by those who had the greatest Stakes in it, has been from time to time plainly, impartially, and pathetically expressed.

I shall begin with the Act of Parliament made in *England*, in the Second Session of the first Year of the late King *VWilliam* and Queen *Mary*, entituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown*.

It carries in it the noble Resentment of a People that had been just rescued from Tyranny; and yet, that they might justify their
Actions

Actions to Posterity, it recites all the particular Instances of the Tyrannical Reign in a plain and dispassionate Simplicity. The Act runs as follows.

WHereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at *Westminster*, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the Estates of the People of this Realm, did upon the 13th Day of *February*, in the Year of our Lord 1688, present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the Names and Stile of *William and Mary*, Prince and Princess of *Orange*, being present in their proper Persons, a certain Declaration in Writing made by the said Lords and Commons in the Words following, viz.

‘Whereas the late King *James* the Second, by the Assistance of diverse evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom:

‘By assuming and exercising a Power of dispensing with, and suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without consent of Parliament:

‘By committing and prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed Power;

‘By issuing, and causing to be executed, a Commission under the Great Seal for erecting a Court called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes;

‘By levying Money for, and to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and in other Manner, than the same was granted by Parliament;

‘By raising and keeping a Standing Army within this Kingdom in Time of Peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering Soldiers contrary to Law;

‘By causing several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed, contrary to Law;

‘By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament;

‘By Prosecutions in the Court of *King's-bench* for Matters and Causes cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal Courses:

‘And whereas of late Years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified Persons have been returned and served on Juries, in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High-Treason, which were not Free-holders;

‘And excessive Bail hath been required of Persons committed in criminal Cases, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subjects;

‘And excessive Fines have been imposed,

‘And illegal and cruel Punishments inflicted,

B 2 And

‘ And several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment against the Persons upon whom the same were to be levied :

‘ All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws, and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

‘ And whereas the said late King *James* the II^d having abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant,

‘ His Highness the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious Instrument of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal Persons of the Commons) cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Boroughs and Cinque-Ports, for the chusing of such Persons to represent them as were of Right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at *Westminster* upon the two and twentieth day of *January*, in this Year One thousand six hundred eighty and eight, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws and Liberties might not again be in Danger of being subverted, upon which Letters Elections having been accordingly made.

‘ And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective Letters and Elections, being now assembled in a full and free Representative of this Nation, taking in to their most serious Consideration the best Means for attaining the Ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as their *Ancestors in like Cases have usually done* for the vindicating and asserting their ancient Rights and Liberties, declare,

‘ That the pretended Power of suspending of Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by regal Authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal,

‘ That the pretended Power of dispensing with Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

‘ That the Commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of like Nature, are illegal and pernicious.

‘ That levying Money for, or to the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer Time or in other Manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

‘ That it is the Right of the Subjects to Petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning are illegal.

‘ That the raising or keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.

‘ That the Subjects which are Protestants, may have Arms for their

their own Defence suitable to their Conditions, and as allowed by Law. ' That Elections of Members ought to be free.

' That the Freedom of Speech and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

' That excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

' That Jurors ought to be duly impanel'd, and returned, and Jurors which pass upon Men in Tryals for High Treason ought to be Freeholders.

' That all Grants, and Promises of Fines, and Forfeitures of particular Persons before Conviction, are Illegal and void,

' And that for Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

' And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all, and singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties. And that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings to the Prejudice of the People in any of the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into Consequence or Example,

' To which Demand of their Rights, they are particularly encouraged by the Declaration of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein.

' Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the Deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the Violation of their Rights which they have asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties;

' The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at Westminster, do Resolve,

' That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the said Prince and Princess during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them: And that the sole and full Exercise of the Regal Power be only in, and executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the Names of the said Prince and Princess during their joint Lives; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess; and for Default of such Issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of Orange.

' And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray ' the

the said Prince and Princes to accept the same accordingly.

And that the Oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all Persons, of whom the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy might be required by Law, instead of them; and that the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be abrogated.

I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*. So help me God.

I A. B. do swear, that I do from my Heart abhor, detest and abjure, as Impious and Heretical this damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be Deposed or Murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever.

And I do declare, that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm. So help me God.

Upon which their said Majesties did accept the Crown, and Royal Dignity of the Kingdoms of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, according to the Resolution and Desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said Declaration.

And thereupon their Majesties were pleased, that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, being the two Houses of Parliament, should continue to sit, and with their Majesties Royal Concurrence, make effectual Provision for the Settlement of the Religion, Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom; so that the same for the future might not be in Danger again of being subverted; to which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons did agree, and proceed to act accordingly.

Now in pursuance of the Premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming, and establishing the said Declaration, and the Articles, Clauses, Matters, and things therein contained, by the Force of a Law made in due Form by Authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, that all and singular the Rights and Liberties asserted and claimed in the said Declaration, are the true, ancient and indubitable Rights and Liberties of the People of this Kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be; and that all and every the Particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said Declaration; and all Officers and Ministers whatsoever, shall serve their Majesties and their Successors according to the same in all Times to come.

And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in his mar-

vellous

vellous Providence and merciful Goodness to this Nation, to provide and preserve their said Majesties Royal Persons most happily to Reign over us upon the Throne of their Ancestors, for which they render unto him from the bottom of their Hearts, their humblest Thanks and Praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the Sincerity of their Hearts think, and do hereby *recognize, acknowledge, and declare*, that King *James II.* having Abdicated the Government, and their Majesties having accepted the Crown and Royal Dignity as aforesaid, their said Majesties did become, were, are, and of Right ought to be by the *Laws of this Realm*, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady King and Queen of *England, France and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; in, and to whose Princely Persons, the Royal State, Crown and Dignity of the said Realms, with all Honours, Stiles, Titles, Regalities, Prerogatives, Powers, Jurisdictions and Authorities to the same belonging, and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed.

‘ And for preventing all Questions and Divisions in this Realm, by reason of any pretended Titles to the Crown, and for preserving a Certainty in the Succession thereof, in, and upon which the Unity, Peace, Tranquility and Safety of this Nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend.

‘ The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do beseech their Majesties, That it may be enacted, established and declared, that the Crown and Regal Government of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, with all and singular the Premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said Majesties, and the Survivor of them, during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the entire, perfect, and full Exercise of the Regal Power and Government be only in and executed by his Majesty, in the Names of both their Majesties during their joint Lives, and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Premises shall be and remain to the Heirs of the Body of her Majesty; and for Default of such Issue, to her Royal Highness the Princess *Anne of Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of his said Majesty. And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do in the Name of all the People aforesaid, most *humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their Heirs and Posterity for ever*. And so faithfully promise that they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said Majesties, and also the Limitation and Succession of the Crown herein specified and contained to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Estates, against all Persons whatsoever that shall attempt any thing to the contrary.

‘ And

And whereas it hath been found by Experience, that it is inconsistent with the Safety and Welfare of this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King or Queen marrying a Papist;

The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray, That it may be enacted, that all and every Person and Persons that is, are, or *shall be reconciled to*, or shall hold Communion with the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish Religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same; or to have, use, or exercise any Regal Power, Authority or Jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such Case, or Cases, the People of these Realms shall be, and are hereby absolved of their Allegiance; and the said Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by such Person, or Persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the said Person or Persons so reconciled, holding Communion, or Professing or Marrying aforesaid, were naturally dead.

And that every King and Queen of this Realm, who any time hereafter shall come to, and succeed in the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom, shall, on the first Day of the Meeting of the first Parliament, next after his or her coming to the Crown, sitting in his or her Throne in the House of Peers, in the Presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her Coronation, before such Person or Persons who shall Administer the Coronation Oath to him or her, at the time of his or her taking the said Oath, (which shall first happen) make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the Declaration mentioned in the Statute made in the thirtieth Year of the Reign of King Charles the II^d, entitled, *An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's Person and Government by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament*. But if it shall happen, that such King or Queen, upon his or her Succession to the Crown of this Realm, shall be under the Age of twelve Years, then every such King or Queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said Declaration at his or her Coronation, or, the first Day of the meeting of the first Parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen, after such King or Queen shall have attained the said Age of Twelve Years.

All which their Majesties are contented, and pleased, shall be declared, enacted, and established, by Authority of this present Parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be, *the Law of this Realm for ever*; and the same are by their said Majesties, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, declared, enacted, and established accordingly. And

And be it further declared and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that from, and after this present Session of Parliament, no Dispensation by *Non Obstante*, or to any Statute, or part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void, and of no Effect, except a Dispensation be allowed of in such Statute, and except in such Cases as shall be especially provided for by one or more Bill, or Bills, to be passed, during the present Session of Parliament.

Provided that no Charter, or Grant, or Pardon, granted before the Three and twentieth Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1689, shall be any ways Impeached or Invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be, and remain of the same Force and Effect in Law, and no other, than if this Act had never been made.

I have recited the Act at large, that I might on the one Hand shew the just Sense the English Nation then had of their Deliverance and their Gratitude to their Deliverer the glorious King *William*; and on the other Hand, avoid being censured or heaping more Mis-carriages upon that unhappy Prince King *James*, than a Nation, whose Religion, Liberties, Fortunes, and Lives were just snatched from the Brink of Ruin, thought fit to charge him with. And here, that I may do Justice to the Scots Nation as well as to the English, I shall also set down, as succinctly as I can, what that brave People did in this important Juncture.

The Convention of the Lords and Commons in the Beginning of the Year 1689, came to the Resolutions in Substance as follow, viz. That whereas King *James* the VIIth, being a professed Papist, did assume the Royal power, and act as King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law, whereby every King at his Accession to the Government was obliged to swear to maintain in the Protestant Religion, and to rule the people according to the laudable Laws: And by the Advice of wicked Counsellors, did invade the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and altered it from a legal limited Monarchy to an arbitrary and despotick power; and in a publick proclamation asserted an absolute power to annul and disable all Laws particularly by arraighning the Laws establishing the protestant Religion, and exerted that power to the Subversion of the protestant Religion, and to the Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

By erecting publick Schools and Societies of the Jesuites, and not only allowing Mass to be publickly said, but also converting protestant Chappels and Churches to publick Mass-Houses, contrary to the express Laws against saying and hearing Mass.

By allowing popish Books to be printed and dispersed by a patent to a popish Printer, designing him Printer to his Majesty's Household, College and Chappel, contrary to Law.

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‘ By taking the Children of protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen, sending them abroad to be bred Papists, and bestowing Pensions upon priests to pervert protestants from their Religion by Offers of places and preferments.

‘ By discharging protestants, at the same Time he employed papists in places of greatest Trust both Civil and Military, &c. and intrusting the Forts and Magazines in their Hands.

‘ By imposing Oaths contrary to Law.

‘ By exacting Money without Consent of Parliament or Convention of Estates.

‘ By levying and keeping up a standing Army in Time of peace, without Consent of parliament, and maintaining them upon free Quarter

‘ By employing the Officers of the Army as Judges throughout the Kingdom, by whom the Subjects were put to Death without legal Trial, Jury, or Record.

‘ By imposing exorbitant Fines to the Value of the parties Estates, exacting extravagant Bail, and disposing Fines and Forfeitures before any process or Conviction.

‘ By imprisoning persons without expressing the Reason, and delaying to bring them to Trial.

‘ By causing several persons to be prosecuted, and their Estates to be forfeited upon Stretches of old and obsolete Laws, upon weak and frivolous pretences, and upon lame and defective proofs; as particularly the late Earl of *Argyle*, to the Scandal of the Justice of the Nation.

‘ By subverting the Rights of the Royal Boroughs, the third Estate of Parliament, imposing upon them not only Magistrates, but also the whole Town Council and Clerks, contrary to their Liberties and express Charters, without any pretence of Sentence, Surrender, or Consent; so that the Commissioners to parliament being chosen by the Magistrates and Councils, the King might in Effect as well nominate the Estate of Parliament: Besides that many of the Magistrates by him put in were papists, and the Boroughs were forced to pay Money for the Letters imposing those illegal Magistrates upon them.

‘ By sending Letters to the chief Courts of Justice, not only ordering the Judges to stop *sine die*, but also commanding how to proceed in Cases depending before them, contrary to the express Laws; and by changing the Nature of the Judges patents *ad Vitam* or *Culpam*, into a Commission *de bene placito*, to dispose them to a Compliance with arbitrary Courses, and turning them out of their Offices if they refused to comply.

‘ By granting personal protections for civil Debts, contrary to Law.

' All which miscarriages of King *James*, were utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws, Freedoms and Statutes of the Realm of *Scotland*. Upon which Grounds and Reasons the Estates of the Kingdom of *Scotland* did find and declare, that the said King *James* had forfeited the Crown, and the Throne was become Vacant.

' Therefore in Regard his Royal Highness then Prince of *Orange*, since King of *England*, whom it hath pleased God to make the glorious Instrument of delivering these Kingdoms from Popery and arbitrary power, by Advice of several Lords and Gentlemen of the *Scots* Nation then at *London*, did call the Estates of this Kingdom to meet upon the 14th of *March* last, in order to such an Establishment as that the Religion, Laws and Liberties might not again be in Danger of being subverted: The said Estates being then assembled accordingly, in a full and free Representative of the Nation, did in the first place, as *their Ancestors in like Cases had usually done* for vindicating and asserting their ancient Rights and Liberties, declare,

' That by the Law of *Scotland* no papist could be King or Queen of the Realm, nor bear any Office therein; nor that any protestant Successor could exercise the Regal power, till they had Sworn the Coronation Oath.

' That all proclamations asserting an absolute power to null and disable Laws, in order for erecting Schools and Colleges for Jesuites, converting protestant Churches and Chappels into Mass-houses, and the allowing Mass to be said; and the allowing popish Books to be printed and dispersed, was contrary to Law.

' That the taking the Children of Noblemen, Gentlemen and Others, and keeping them abroad to be bred papists;

' The making Funds and Donations to popish Schools and Colleges; the bestowing pensions on priests, and the seducing protestants from their Religion by Offers of places and preferments, was contrary to Law.

' That the disarming of Protestants, and employing Papists, in the greatest places of Trust both Civil and Military, was contrary to Law.

' That the imposing an Oath without Authority of parliament, was contrary to Law.

' That the raising of Money without Consent of parliament or Convention was contrary to Law.

' That employing the Officers of the Army as Judges, was contrary to Law;

' That the imposing extraordinary Fines, &c. was contrary to Law.

' That the imprisoning of persons without expressing the Reasons, was contrary to Law.

' That the prosecuting and seizing Mens Estates as forfeited upon *Stretches* of old and obsolete Laws, &c. was contrary to Law.

‘ That the nominating and imposing Magistrates, &c. upon Boroughs, contrary to their express Charters, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the sending Letters to the Courts of Justice, ordering the Judges to desist from dermining of Causes, and ordering them how to proceed in Causes depending before them, &c. was contrary to Law.

‘ That the granting of personal protections, &c. was contrary to Law.

‘ That the forcing the Subjects to depose against themselves in capital Crimes, however the punishments were restricted, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the using Torture without Evidence, or in ordinary Crimes, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the sending of an Army in a warlike Manner into any Part of the Kingdom in Time of Peace, and exacting Locality and free Quarters, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the charging the Subjects with Law-Boroughs at the King’s Instance, and imposing Bonds without Authority of Parliament, and the suspending Advocates for not appearing when Bonds were offered, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the putting Garrisons into private Houses in Time of Peace, without Authority of Parliament, was illegal.

‘ That the Opinions of the Lords of the Session in the two Cases following, were illegal, *viz.* That the concerting the Demand of the Supply of a Fore-saluted Person, although not given, was Treason; and that Persons refusing to discover their private Thoughts in Relation to Points of Treason, or other Mens Actions, are guilty of Treason.

‘ That the fining Husbands for their Wives withdrawing from Church, was illegal.

‘ That Prelacy and Superiority of an Office in the Church above Presbyters, is, and has been a great and unsupportable Burden to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People, ever since the Reformation, they having reformed Popery by Presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolished.

‘ That it is the Right and Privilege of the Subject, to protest for Remedy of Law, to the King and Parliament, against Sentences pronounc’d by the Lords of the Sessions, provided the same do not stop Executions of the said Sentences.

‘ That it is the Right of the Subject to Petition the King, and that all Prosecutions and Imprisonments for such Petitioning, were contrary to Law.

‘ There-

‘ Therefore for the Redress of all Grievances, and for the a-
 ‘ mending, strengthening, and preserving the Laws, they claimed
 ‘ that Parliaments ought to be frequently called, and allowed to
 ‘ sit, and Freedom of Speech and Debate allowed the Members;
 ‘ and further claimed, and insisted upon all, and sundry the Pre-
 ‘ mises, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties; and that no De-
 ‘ claration or Proceedings, to the prejudice of the People, in any
 ‘ the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter in
 ‘ Example; but that all Forfeitures, Fines, Loss of Offices, Impri-
 ‘ sonments, Banishments, Prosecutions, and rigorous Executi-
 ‘ ons be consider’d, and the Parties redressed.

‘ To which Demand of their Rights, and Redress of their
 ‘ Grievances, they took themselves to be encouraged by the
 ‘ King of England’s Declaration for the Kingdom of Scotland, in
 ‘ October last, as being the only Means for obtaining a full
 ‘ Redress and Remedy therein.

‘ Therefore for as much as they had an entire Confidence, that
 ‘ his Majesty of England would perfect the Deliverance, so far
 ‘ advanced by him, and would still preserve them from the Viola-
 ‘ tion of the Rights which they had asserted, and from all other
 ‘ Attempts upon their Religion, Laws and Liberties;

‘ The Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland had resolved,
 ‘ That William and Mary, King and Queen of England, be
 ‘ declared King and Queen of Scotland, to hold the Crown and
 ‘ Royal Dignity of the said Kingdom, to them the said King and
 ‘ Queen, during their Lives, and the longer liver of them; and
 ‘ that the sole and full Exercise of the Power be only in, and
 ‘ exercised by him the said King, in the Names of the said King
 ‘ and Queen, during their joint Lives; and after their Deceases,
 ‘ that the said Crown and Royal Dignity, be to the Heirs of the
 ‘ Body of the said Queen, which failing, to the Princess Anne of
 ‘ Denmark, and the Heirs of her Body; which also failing, to the
 ‘ Heirs of the Body of the said William, King of England. And
 ‘ then prayed the said King and Queen to accept the same ac-
 ‘ cordingly. Which being accepted by their Majesties, they were
 ‘ proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland, the same Day that
 ‘ they were Crowned King and Queen of England.

The above-mention’d Acts of Settlement of the respective
 Crowns of England and Scotland ought to be written in the
 Hearts of every true Briton, and engraven on Columns of Brass,
 to be erected in all the Cities and Boroughs of this Island, that
 Posterity may know how much their Ancestors suffered, and how
 much more they were in Danger of suffering from a Popish Prince;
 and that they may with Gratitude Reverence the Memory of

their glorious Deliverer, the immortal King William, to whom under God, are owing whatever Rights, whether Religious or Civil, they or their latest Posterity shall enjoy.

Thus appear the Causes each Nation had for the late Revolution, and the just Reasons for limiting the Entail of their respective Crowns in the Manner abovementioned.

They at that Time doubtless hoped they should for ever be made happy in a Descent of Protestant Princes, either from the late Queen Mary, the Princess Anne of Denmark, or the late King William, and therefore saw no Necessity for extending the Limitation further; but the Death of that incomparable Princess the late Queen Mary, on the 28th of December, 1694, followed by the Death of that hopeful Royal Infant, the Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving Issue of the Princess of Denmark, on the 29th of July 1700, gave fresh Alarms to the English Nation.

They saw the Entail of the Crown reduced to the Lives of the late King William, and Her present Majesty, then Princess of Denmark.

They saw the Hopes of a Popish Jacobite Party taking new Spirit, and beginning to revive.

They saw a long Train of Popish Princes of the Blood next in Decent, after the Demises of the late King William and the Princess of Denmark without Issue; they remembered the Danger they had so lately been in from one Popish Prince, and therefore thought it high Time to take all necessary Cautions to prevent the same for the future from a numerous Train of Roman Catholick Princes, all or most of whom, were very near in Blood to a neighbouring Monarch, the most powerful Prince in Europe, whose Interest, as well as Inclination, might engage him to support their Pretensions with his whole Force.

This prudent Foresight gave Birth to another Act of Parliament in England, in the 12th and 13th Years of the Reign of the late King William, entituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.* By this Act the most Illustrious Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutches Dowager of Hanover, is declared the next in Succession in the Protestant Line, to the Crown of England, after the late King William and the Princess Anne of Denmark, and their respective Issue; and that from and after the Deceases of his said Majesty and the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the Heirs of their respective Bodies, the Crown should be, remain, and continue to the said Princess Sophia, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants.

And

‘ And thereunto the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the Name of all the People of this Realm, did most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their Heirs, and Posterities; and did faithfully promise, that after the Deceases of his Majesty and her Royal Highness, and the Failure of the Heirs of their respective Bodies, to stand by, maintain and defend the said Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants, according to the Limitation and Succession of the Crown in this Act specified and contained, to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Estates, against all Persons whatsoever that shall attempt any thing to the contrary.

In the 13th and 14th Years of the said King, two other Acts of Parliament were made; the one entitled, *An Act of Attainder of the pretended prince of Wales of High Treason*; whereby it was enacted, ‘ That he be attainted of High Treason, and suffer pains of Death, as a Traytor; and that if any Subject of *England* shall, within this Realm, or without, after the first of *March*, 1701, hold, entertain, or keep any Intelligence or Correspondence, in Person, or by Letters, Messages, or otherwise, with the said pretended Prince of *Wales*, or with any Person or Persons, employ’d by him, knowing such person to be so employed by him, or shall by Bill of Exchange, or otherwise, remit, or pay any Sum or Sums of Money, for the Use or Service of the said pretended prince of *Wales*, knowing such Money to be for such Use or Service, such person so offending, being lawfully convicted, shall be taken, deemed, and adjudged guilty of High Treason, and shall suffer and forfeit as in Cases of High Treason. And where any Offence against this Act shall be committed out of this Realm, the same may be alledged, laid, enquired of, and tried in any County of this Kingdom of *England*.

And the other, Entitled, *An Act for the further Security of His Majesty’s Person, and the succession of the Crown in the protestant line, and for extinguishing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, or all other Pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors*. ‘ Wherein reciting the said former Acts of Settlement of the Crown, and that the French King, in hopes of disturbing the Peace and Repose of his Majesty and his Kingdoms, and creating Divisions therein, had caused the Pretended Prince of Wales, to be proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the Name of *James the Third*: and that the said pretended Prince had assumed the said Title, in open Defiance of the Provisions made for the Establishment of the Title and Succession of the Crown, by the said several Acts of Parliament: To the Intent therefore that the said Acts might be for ever inviolably preserved, and that all future Questions and Divisions, by reason of any pretended Titles to the Crown, might be prevented, it was enacted, That all and every Person and

‘ Persons

' persons, as well Peers as Commoners, that shall bear Office Civil
 ' or Military, or receive pay, Fee, or Wages, or have Command,
 ' or place of Trust from his Majesty, or in the Service of
 ' his Majesty, Prince *George*, or Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*,
 ' all Ecclesiastical Persons, or Members of Colleges and Halls,
 ' of the Foundation in either University, being Eighteen
 ' Years old, all persons teaching pupils, all School-masters, Ushers,
 ' Preachers and Teachers of separate Congregations, persons that
 ' shall Act as Serjeants at Law, Counsellors, Advocates, Attor-
 ' neys, Solicitors, proctors, Clerks, or Notaries, by practising as
 ' such in any Court, and all peers and Membets of the House of
 ' Commons, before they can Vote in their respective Houses of par-
 ' liament, should be obliged to take the Oath herein after men-
 ' tioned, commonly call'd, The Abjuration Oath; which Oath
 ' was expressed in the following Words.

I *A.B.* do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare
 in my Conscience, before God and the World, That our Sovereign
 Lord King *William* is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and
 and of all other his Majesty's Dominions and Countries thereunto
 belonging; and I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do be-
 lieve in my Conscience, that the person pretended to be prince of
Wales, during the Life of the late King *James*, and since his de-
 cease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the Stile and Title
 of King of *England*, by the Name of *James* the Third, hath not any
 Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm, or any other
 the Dominions thereunto belonging; and I do renounce, refuse, and
 abjure, any Allegiance or Obedience to him. And I do swear, that
 I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty King *William*,
 and him will Defend to the utmost of my power, against all traite-
 rous Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made a-
 gainst his Person, Crown, or Dignity; and I will do my best Euy o-
 deavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, and his Success-
 fors, all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know to
 be against him, or any of them; and I do faithfully promise, to the
 utmost of my power, to support, maintain and defend the Limita-
 tion and Succession of the Crown against Him the said *James*, and
 all other persons whatsoever, as the same is and stands limited (by
 an Act, entitled, An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the
 Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown) to his Majesty
 during his Majesty's Life, and after his Majesty's decease to the Prince-
 cess *Ann* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants
 and for Default of such Issue to the Heirs of the Body of his Ma-
 jesty, being Protestants; and as the same by one other Act, En-
 titled, An Act for the further Limitations of the Crown, and be-
 ter Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, is, and stands

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Limited after the decease of his Majesty, and the Princess Ann of Denmark, and for Default of Issue of the said Princess, and of his Majesty respectively, to the princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants. And all these Things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express Words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common Sense and Understanding of these same Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever; and I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgment, Abjuration, Renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian.

So help me God:

And it was theirby also Enacted, That if any person, or persons at any time after the 25th Day of *March*, 1702, should compass or imagin the Death of her Royal Highness the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, or endeavour to deprive or hinder her from succeeding to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, after the Demise of his Majesty; and the same maliciously, advisedly and directly shall attempt, by any Overt-Act or Deed, every such Offence shall be adjudged High Treason, and the Offender and Offenders therein, their Abettors, procurors, and Counsellors, and all and every their Aiders and Comforters, knowing the said Offence to be done, being thereof Convicted or Attainted, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, shall be deemed and adjudged Traitors, and shall suffer pains of Death, and all Losses and Forfeitures, as in Cases of High Treason.

Thus our great Deliverer accomplish'd his Work.

He would have thought it but half done, if he had deliver'd our best Easy one Generation from Popery and Slavery; and therefore made it his whole Care, and spent the last Remains of his invaluable Life, in contriving how the most pure Religion, and the best Laws in the Universe, might be transmitted to late posterity.

The last mentioned Acts of Parliament, are the Legacy That our great Prince left the English Nation, infinitely more valuable (bole than if he had, without them, left palaces and principalities to the use of each of his Subjects.

The Memory of that great Benefactor to Mankind will always be dear to every Briton, who loves the Religion and Laws of his Protestant Country, and is an Enemy to Popery and Arbitrary Power, and to every Man who knows the happiness of a limited Monarchy circumscribed and fenced about with the Bulwarks of Laws, and which equally guard the Subject from the Invasion of the Prince, and the Prince from the Insults of the Subject.

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His Vigilance was not confined to his Kingdom of *England*; the Happiness of the Kingdom of *Scotland* was equally his Care and Study. He zealously attempted to have had the Succession to the Crown of that Kingdom settled also on the House of *Hanover*, in the same manner as that of *England* was settled, and to have united both Kingdoms; but these high Benefits were reserved by Heaven to be numbered amongst the Glories of Her present Majesty's Reign, a Reign attended with so many Victories obtained by Her Arms Abroad, under the Conduct of Her renowned General, the Duke of *Marlborough*; and with so many Acts of Benevolence at Home, by the Advice of the best and wisest Council that ever Prince employed, that as it has excelled the Transactions of all former Ages, so it will be a lasting Pattern for the Imitation of all which shall succeed.

Her Majesty was but just seated on Her Throne, when with the same Goodness towards Her Subjects, in the first Year of Her Reign, She gives the Royal Assent to an Act of Parliament, entituled, *An Act for enlarging the Time for taking the Oath of Abjuration; and also for recapacitating and indemnifying such Persons as have not taken the same by the time limited, and shall take the same by a time to be appointed; and for the further Security of Her Majesty's Person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and for extinguishing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors.*

' In which, amongst other Things, it is enacted, ' That if any Person or Persons, at any Time after the first Day of *March 1702*, shall endeavour to deprive, or hinder any Person who shall be the next in Succession to the Crown, for the Time being, according to the Limitations in an Act, entituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown*; and according to another Act, entituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*, from succeeding after the Decease of Her Majesty, to the imperial Crown of this Realm, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, according to the Limitations in the before-mention'd Acts, that is to say, such Issue of ~~Her~~ Majesty's Body, as shall from Time to Time be next in Succession to the Crown, if it shall please God Almighty to bless Her Majesty with Issue; and during the Time Her Majesty shall have no Issue, the Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutchess Dowager of *Hanover*; and after the Decease of the said Princess *Sophia*, the next in Succession to the Crown, for the Time being, according to the Limitation of the said Acts; and

the same, maliciously, advisedly, and directly, shall attempt by any Overt-Act, or Deed; every such Offence shall be adjudged High Treason, and the Offender or Offenders therein, their Abettors, Procurers, and Comforters, knowing the said Offence to be done, being thereof convicted or attainted, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, shall be deemed and adjudged Traitors, and shall suffer pains of Death, and all Losses and Forfeitures, as in Cases of High Treason.

Her Majesty in the Fourth Year of Her Reign, gave the Royal Assent to an Act, entituled, *An Act for the Naturalization of the most Excellent princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the Issue of her Body*; by which it is enacted, That the said Princess Sophia, and the Issue of her Body, and all Persons lineally descending from her, born, or hereafter to be born, be, and shall be, to all intents and Purposes whatsoever, deemed, taken, and esteemed Natural born Subjects of this Kingdom, as if the said Princess, and the Issue of her Body, and all Persons lineally descending from her, born, or hereafter to be born, had been born within this Realm of England, any Law, Statute, Matter or Thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. With a proviso, that every Person who shall be Naturalized by Virtue of this Act, and shall become a Papist, or profess the popish Religion, shall not enjoy any Benefit or Advantage of a Natural Born Subject of England, but shall be adjudged an Alien.

And in the Fourth and Fifth Year of Her Majesty's Reign, if any other Act passed the Royal Assent, entituled, *An Act for the better securing Her Majesty's person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown of England in the protestant Line*; by which, amongst other Things, it is enacted, That if any person maliciously, advisedly and directly, by Writing or Printing, declare, maintain, and affirm, that our Sovereign Lady the Queen, that now is, is not the Lawful or Rightful Queen of these Realms; or that the pretended Prince of Wales, who now styles himself, King of England, by the Name of James the Third, hath any Right or Title to the Crown of these Realms; or that any other person or persons hath, or have any Right or Title to the same, otherwise than according to an Act of Parliament, made in the Year of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, entituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown*; and one other Act, made in the 12th Year of the Reign of his said late Majesty King William the Third, entituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects*:

Or that the Kings, or Queens of *England*, with and by the Authority of the Parliament of *England*, are not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity, to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation of Inheritance and Government thereof, every such person or persons shall be guilty of High Treason, and being thereupon Convicted and Attainted, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, shall be deemed and adjudged Traitors, and shall suffer pains of Death, and all Losses and Forfeitures as in Case of High Treason.

And that if any person or persons, shall, from and after the said 25th Day of *March*, maliciously and directly, by Preaching, Teaching, or advised speaking, declaring, maintain, and affirm in manner as aforesaid, every such person, or persons, being thereof lawfully Convicted, shall incur the Danger and Penalty of *Premunire*.

And that the Parliament shall not be dissolved by the Death or Demise of Her Majesty, Her Heirs or Successors; but such Parliament, if sitting at the Time of such Demise, may proceed to Act for six Months, and no longer, unless the same shall sooner Prorogued, or Dissolved by such Person to whom the Crown of this Realm of *England* shall come, according to the Acts, for limiting and settling the Succession above mentioned. And if the said Parliament shall be so prorogued, then it shall meet and sit on the Day unto which it shall be prorogued, and continue for the residue of the said six Months, unless sooner prorogued or dissolved as aforesaid. And if there be a Parliament in Being, at the Time of the Death of Her Majesty, Her Heirs, or Successors, but happen to be separated by a journeyment or Prorogation, such Parliament shall immediately after such Demise meet, and Act for six Months, and no longer, unless the same shall be prorogued, or dissolved, as aforesaid. And in Case there is no Parliament in Being, at the Time of such Demise, that has met and sate, then the last preceding Parliament shall immediately convene, and Sit, at *Westminster*, and be a Parliament to continue as aforesaid; but Subjects to be prorogued, and dissolved, as aforesaid.

That the Privy-Council of Her Majesty, Her Heirs, Successors, shall not be dissolved, by such Death, or Demise, but shall continue for six Months, unless sooner determined by the next Successor;

Nor shall any Office, Place or Employment, Civil or Military, become void by such Demise, but continue also for six Months, unless the Persons enjoying them shall be sooner removed, discharged by the next Successor.

‘ And if Her Majesty shall happen to die without Issue, the Privy-Council shall with all convenient speed cause the next Protestant Successor, entitled to the Crown of *England*, by Virtue of the Acts abovementioned, to be openly and solemnly proclaimed in *England* and *Ireland*, in usual manner; and every Member thereof wilfully Neglecting, or Refusing to Cause such Proclamation to be made, shall be guilty of High-Treason; and every Officer by the Privy-Council required to make such Proclamations, willfully Neglecting or Refusing, shall be guilty of, and suffer the Penalties of High Treason.

‘ And for continuing the Administration of the Government, in the Name of such Protestant Successor, until Her, or His Arrival in *England*, The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Lord High Treasurer, Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, and Lord Chief Justice of the Queen’s Bench, at that Time being, are thereby appointed Lords Justices of *England*, until such Successor arrive, or determine their Authority.

‘ And the Person to succeed in Case of Her Majesty’s Death, without Issue, is impowered at any Time during Her Majesty’s Life, by Three Instruments under Her or His Hand and Seal, to appoint so many Natural Born Subjects of *England*, as She or He shall think fit, to be added to the abovementioned Lords Justices, to Act with them as Lords Justices of *England*, who, or the Major Part, not being fewer than Five, shall Execute the Power of Lords Justices.

‘ The said Three Instruments to be Transmitted into *England*, to the Resident of the Person next to succeed, (whose Credentials shall be inroll’d in Chancery) and to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, close Seal’d up; and after they are so transmitted, shall be severally put into several Covers, and severally Seal’d by such Resident, Arch-Bishop and Chancellor, or Keeper, and severally deposited in the Hands of such Resident, Arch-Bishop, and Chancellor or Keeper. If the next Successor shall think fit to revoke, or alter such Appointment, and shall by three Writings of the same tenor, under Her or His Hand and Seal, require the said Instruments so deposited to be deliver’d up; then the persons with whom deposited, their Executors or Administrators, and every other Person, in whose Custody the said Instruments shall happen to be, shall deliver up the same accordingly. And if any of the said Persons with whom the said Instruments shall be so deposited, shall die or be removed from their respective Offices or Employments during Her Majesty’s Life, such Person or Persons, and in case of any of their Deaths their Executors and

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Administrators respectively, and every other Person, in whose Custody the same shall happen to be, shall with all convenient speed, deliver such of them as shall be in his, or their Custody to the Successor, or Successors of the Person or Persons, so dying or removed. Which said several Instruments so sealed up, and deposited, shall immediately after the Demise of Her Majesty without Issue, be brought before the Privy Council, where the same shall be forthwith open'd and read, and afterwards inroll'd in the High Court of Chancery.

If the Persons with whom the said Instruments shall be deposited, or others in whose Custody the same shall be, after the Deceases of any of the said Persons, shall open the same, or willfully Neglect or refuse to produce them as aforesaid, such person shall incur the Penalties of *Premunire*.

And if all the said Instruments shall not be produced, before the said Privy Council, then any one of the said Instruments, so produced, shall be as effectual to give such Authority as aforesaid, to the Persons therein named, as if all of them had been produced. And if there be not any Nomination by such Instruments, then the said Seven Officers above named, or any Five of them, are appointed to be Lords Justices of England. And that the Lords Justices of England shall not dissolve the Parliament continued and ordered to assemble and sit as aforesaid, without express Direction from such succeeding Queen or King, and are restrained and disabled from giving the Royal Assent to any Bill for the repealing or altering the Act for the Uniformity of publick Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, made 13 & 14 C. II. under the penalty of High Treason: And that the said Lords Justices, before they act in their said Offices, shall take the Oaths mentioned in an Act made, 1 W. & M. entitled, An Act for abrogating the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointing other Oaths, and also the Abjuration Oath, before the Privy Council; and all Members of both Houses of Parliament, and every Member of the Privy Council, and all Officers and Persons in any Offices, Places or Employments, Civil or Military, who shall be by this Act continued as aforesaid, shall take the said Oaths, and do all other Acts required by the Laws of this Realm to qualify themselves to continue in such their respective Places, Offices and Employments, within such Time, and in such Manner, and under such Penalties and Disabilities as they should or ought to do, had they been newly elected, appointed, constituted, or put into such Offices, places or employments in the usual and ordinary Way. And that the Lords Justices shall be deemed as Persons executing Offices of Trust within this Kingdom, and shall do all Acts requisite by the Laws to qualify themselves to be and continue

continue in their said Offices, within such times, and in such manner, and under such Penalties and Disabilities, as in and by the said Acts are required.

‘ And it is in the said Act provided, amongst other things, That if any of the aforesaid seven Offices, other than the Office of Lord High Treasurer of *England*, shall be in Commission at the time of such Demise of her Majesty, that then the first Commissioner of such respective Commission shall be one of the Lords Justices of *England*. And if there be no Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and the Office of Treasurer of the Exchequer shall be in Commission, then the first in that Commission shall be one of the Lords Justices of *England*.

I have here shewn what wonderful Concern and Care appeared, as well in her Majesty and her Parliament, as in the late King *William* and his, for settling the Succession to the Crown of *England* in the Protestant Line. I come now to the Act of Parliament for uniting the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in one Kingdom by the Name of *Great-Britain*.

This had been unsuccessfully attempted by several of her Majesty's Predecessors, but the Glory of it was reserv'd for her Majesty, that she might appear as great in her Councils as her Arms.

This Act is Entitled, *An Act for an Union of the two Kingdoms of* *England and Scotland*; and received the Royal Assent in the Fifth Year of the Reign of her Majesty. It recites, that Articles of Union were agreed on, the 22d Day of *July*, in the Fifth Year of her Majesty's Reign, by the Commissioners nominated on behalf of the Kingdom of *England*, under the Great Seal of *England*, dated the 10th Day of *April* then last past, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament made in *England* in the Third Year of her Majesty's Reign, and the Commissioners nominated on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, dated the 27th Day of *February*, in the 4th Year of Her Majesty's Reign, in pursuance of the 4th Act of the 3d Session of the then present Parliament of *Scotland*, to treat of and concerning an Union of the said Kingdoms; and reciting that an Act had passed in the Parliament of *Scotland*, the 16th Day of *January*, in the 5th Year of Her Majesty's Reign, wherein it is mentioned, that the Estates of Parliament, considering the said Articles of Union of the 2 Kingdoms, had agreed too and approved thereof with some Additions and Explanations, and that Her Majesty had passed in the same Session of Parliament, an Act, Entitled, *Act for securing the Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government*, which was appointed to be inserted in any Act ratifying the Treaty, and expressly declared to be a Fundamental and Essential Condition of the said Treaty or Union in all times coming.

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The Tenor of which Articles, as ratified and approved of, is at large recited in the said Act of Union. It concerns our present purpose to mention only the first and second.

ARTICLE I.

‘ THAT the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, shall, upon the first Day of *May*, which shall be in the Year One thousand seven hundred and seven, and for ever after, be United into one Kingdom, by the Name of *Great-Britain*, and that the Ensigns Armorial of the same United Kingdom be such as Her Majesty shall appoint, and the Crosses of *St. George* and *St. Andrew* be conjoynd in such manner as Her Majesty shall think fit, and used in all Flags, Banners, Standards and Ensigns both at Sea and Land.

ARTICLE II.

‘ THAT the Succession to the Monarchy of the United Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and of the Dominions thereto belonging, after Her most sacred Majesty, and in default of Issue of her Majesty, be, remain, and continue to the most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants, upon whom the Crown of *Eng.* is settled by an Act of Parliament made in *Eng.* in the 12th Year of the Reign of K. *Wil. III.* Entituled, *An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*; and that all Papists, and Persons Marrying Papists, shall be excluded from and for ever incapable to Inherit, Possess or Enjoy the Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any part thereof; and in every such Case the Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoy’d by such Person being a Protestant as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case such Papist, or Person Marrying a Papist, was naturally Dead, according to the Provision for the Descent of the Crown of *England*, made by another Act of Parliament in *England*, in the first Year of the Reign of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Entituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown.*

But this Point is of so great Consequence, that I must beg leave to repeat the History and Progress of it, which was thus.

Her Majesty was impower'd by two several Acts of Parliament, one of the late Kingdom of England, and the other of the late Kingdom of Scotland, to appoint Commissioners for each Kingdom, to treat of an Union of the two Kingdoms; but it was expressly provided in each Act, that the Commissioners should not treat of, or concerning the Alteration of the Worship, Discipline, or Government of the Church in either Kingdom.

The Commissioners were accordingly appointed by her Majesty, and 25 Articles were agreed upon between them, which Articles were approved, and ratified by two several Acts of Parliament of the said late Kingdom of England and Scotland; in which said Acts each Kingdom provided for the preservation of the Worship, Discipline and Government of its respective Church, within their respective Parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and each Act of Parliament for the preservation of the said Churches, were agreed to be taken as a Fundamental Condition of the Union; and to be repeated and inserted in any Act of Parliament for agreeing the said Treaty or Union betwixt the two Kingdoms. And it was expressly enacted in each of the said Acts, That the said Articles and Acts should be, and continue in all time coming the sure and perpetual Foundation of a compleat and entire Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

After which an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain was passed, entitled, An Act for the Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland; wherein reciting the said 25 Articles of the Union, ratified and confirmed by the respective Acts of Parliament of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and inserting the said Acts of Parliament for preserving the Worship, Discipline and Government of the respective Churches of each Kingdom: It is thereby enacted, That the said Acts of Parliament of England and Scotland, for securing their respective Churches; and the said Articles of Union, so as aforesaid ratified, approved and confirmed, be, and continue in all times coming, the compleat and entire Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

The Words, *so as aforesaid, ratified, approved and confirmed*, are very material, and ought to be carefully observed, because some of the said Articles are made Entire and Absolute; and others give power to the Parliament of Great Britain to alter the same: So that these Words, *so as aforesaid, ratified, approved and confirmed* must be taken *reddendo singula, singulis*, that is, such of the said Articles as express no power to the Parliament of Great Britain to alter them, shall remain entire; and such as carry a power of Al-

teration by the Parliament of Great-Britain are not so Sacred.

Amongst the Articles that carry no such exprefs Power with them, is the second Article for settling the Succession of the Crown of Great Britain on the House of Hanover; so that I humbly offer it to every good Subject's Consideration, Whether this Article is not as firm as the Union it self, and as the Settlements of Episcopacy in England, and Presbytery in Scotland.

These were the sacred Terms and Stipulations made between the Two late Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and upon which both Kingdoms, by the legal Representatives, consented to be dissolved and exist no longer, but be resolved into, and united into one Kingdom, by the Name of Great Britain.

The Powers that made this happy Union, the Parliaments of England and Scotland, have no longer a Being, and therefore that Union, in the exprefs Terms thereof, must remain inviolable. The Union would be infringed should there be any Deviation from these Articles; and what Consequences that would have, no good Subject can think of without Horror; for as, I humbly presume, there is no possibility of returning into the same State as we were in before this Union, it is wild and extravagant to suppose it can be peaceably broken. Two Warlike Nations that should separate after being under solemn Obligations of perpetual Union, would like two private Men of Spirit that had broken Friendship, have ten thousand nameless and inexplicable Causes of Anger boiling in their Bosoms, which would render them incapable of living quiet Neighbours, and one of them must be brought very low or neither of them could live in Peace or Safety. What I mean is that common Sense, and the Nature of things would make one expect that nothing less then a War could attend the Dissatisfactions of such a Rupture. It becomes the Englishmen in Generosities to be more particularly careful in preserving this Union.

For the late Kingdom of Scotland had as numerous Nobility as England, and the Representatives of their Commons were also very Numerous; they have by the Articles of Union consented to send only Sixteen Peers, and Forty Five Commons, to the Parliament of Great Britain, which hath the same number of Lords and Commons for England that were before the Union; so that the Scots Representatives can make no stand in the Defence of any or any of the Articles of the Union, should they be oppos'd by such unequal Number of the Lords and Commons of England and therefore it is most plain, from the Impotence in which so many wise and able Men of the Scotch Nation left themselves in these particulars, that they understood the points of Religion in England and Scotland respectively, the Succession to the Crown

of Great Britain, and all other Articles of the Union, were never to be controverted.

To guard and protect this Settlement of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain in the Protestant Line, an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed in the 6th Year of Her Majesty's Reign, entituled, An Act for the Security of Her Majesty's Person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant Line, by which the Provisions in the beforemention'd Act, (entitled, An Act for the better Security of Her Majesty's Person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown of England in the Protestant Line) are extended throughout the whole United Kingdom. It is in effect a Repetition of that Act with proper Alterations for that Purpose. So that now throughout Great Britain this Act hath made it High Treason for any Person maliciously, advisedly, and directly, by Writing or Printing, to maintain and affirm, that our Sovereign Lady the Queen, that now is, is not the Lawful and Rightful Queen of these Realms; or that the pretended Prince of Wales, who now styles himself King of Great Britain, or King of England by the Name of James the IIIrd, or King of Scotland by the Name of James the VIIIth, hath any Right or Title to the Crown of these Realms; or that any other Person or Persons hath, or have any Right or Title to the same, otherwise than according to an Act of Parliament made in England, in the first Year of the Reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, entituled, An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown, and one other Act made in England, in the Twelfth Year of the Reign of his said late Majesty King William the IIIrd, entituled, An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and the Acts lately made in England and Scotland, mutually for the Union of the two Kingdoms; or that the Kings or Queens of this Realm, with and by the Authority of Parliament, are not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance and Government thereof, every such Person or Persons shall be guilty of High Treason; and if any Person or Persons shall maliciously and directly, by Preaching, Teaching, or advised speaking, declare, maintain, and affirm, as aforesaid, such Person or Persons shall incur the Penalty of Premunire.

Thus did our Kingdom of Great Britain begin in the Fifth Year of Her Majesty's Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 1707. And from this Great Era, to which it is so easy to look back, every Briton may date this happy Conclusion; that all the Notions of Hereditary Right, but that of Her Majesty and the Heirs of Her Body, and in Default of such Issue, that of the most Illustrious Princess Sophia, and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants, are at an End.

And all this hath been done in so open a Manner, and in so expressive and plain Terms, that one cannot but think that our Popish or Jacobite Party, who have been of late so bold both in Writing and Speaking against the Settlement of the Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant Line, and cannot possibly plead Ignorance of these Things, must have some unaccountable Encouragement for their Support. But let me inform every Briton that loves His Queen, Religion, Laws and Liberties, it is his Duty to appear boldly in their Defence, and detect and seize those Enemies to his Country, where ever he finds them: What should any Man fear in so just a Cause, who acts under the Guard and Protection of the Laws of his Country, whilst his Opponents act with Halts about their Necks?

It is not material to Mention the grand Suspicions of the Spurious Birth of the pretended Prince of Wales; That it was talk'd with great Assurance by the Papists, that the late King James's Queen was bigg with a Son, some Months before the pretended Birth; for they well knew a Daughter would not do their Business; That at the Time of the pretended Birth, the Princess *Anne*, now our most gracious Queen, was at the Bath; That the Bishops were clapt up in the Tower; That the Women about the Queen were Papists; That the presumptive Heir was not present; That at the Birth of the present French King, the next Heir, tho' a Man, was permitted to see the Queen actually Delivered; That in our Case it might have been done with much more Decency, had there been a Birth, since the next Heir was a Woman; That the late King *James*, and his Queen, owning the Pretender, is no Argument for his not being Spurious, considering the Bigotry of that Prince, and the great Influence the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* have on their Laity; That our own History informs us, that the first Queen *Mary* was prevail'd on by her Popish Priests to feign her self with Child, to exclude her Protestant Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, from the Crown of *England*; That the Imposture had been carried on, and a Birth been impos'd upon the Nation, had not King *Philip*, her Husband, wisely consider'd, that the Impostor would not only succeed to the Crown of *England*, but also to that of *Spain*, and so prevented it. I say these Things are

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altogether insignificant, they are foreign to the Purpose. Be the Pretender who he will, or whoever was his Father or Mother, it concerns not any *Briton*; he is an Attainted Person, an Enemy to our Queen and Country; and all his Aiders and Abettors are guilty of High Treason.

Now I am upon the Subject of this late Settlement of the Crown, I cannot forbear to express my Wonder, that there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a Power in their own Nation, which is practised to a much greater Degree in other States, and without the least Scruple exercised, according to the Emergencies of Human Affairs. How hard is it, that *Britain* should be debar'd the Privilege of establishing its own Security, even by relinquishing only those Branches of the Royal Line which threaten it with Destruction, whilst other Nations never scruple upon less Occasions, to go much greater Lengths. There have been even in *France* three different Races of their Kings; the first began with *Pharamond*, the second with *Charles Martell*, and the third with *Hugh Capet*; and I doubt whether if the direct Line of the Blood Royal of *France* were to be followed, it would make for the Title of his present most Christian Majesty. But to come to fresh Instances, in which Great Britain it self hath not been unconcerned, What Right, by the contrary Rule, could the Duke of *Savoy* have to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, or the Elector of *Bavaria* to that of *Sardinia*? Can Great Britain help to advance Men to other Thrones, and have no Power in limiting its own? Has not *Lewis* the XIVth given us fresh Instances of such Innovations in his own Family? Or can Men think he is not in Earnest, in excluding his Grandson the King of Spain, and his Descendants, from the Crown of *France*; and the Dauphin and Duke of *Berry*, and their Descendants, from the Crown of *Spain*? And if such Sacred Things as Kingdoms themselves may be thus disposed of out of the Right Line, not by any Resignation that can in any equitable Sense be called voluntary, but apparently for meer Reasons of State and Ambition, certainly the *English* and *Scotch* for Preservation of Religion, Liberty and Property, the Essential Benefits of Life, might with more Justice settle their Crown in the Protestant Line in the manner they have done, excluding all the nearer Princes of the Blood that are Papists.

When I reflect on these many solemn strong Barriers of Laws and Oaths, of Policy and Religion, of Penalties without, and Conscience within, methinks all Fear vanisheth before them. It seems a Phantom only that disappears with the Light; and I begin to hope that it is as ridiculous and groundless, as the Artifice of some Men endeavours to represent it. But my Thoughts will not let me rest here; I ask my self, before I am aware, what are the

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Marks of a lasting Security? What are our Tempers and our Hearts at Home? — In what Hands is Power lodged Abroad? Are our unnatural Divisions our Strength? — Or is it nothing to us which of the Princesses of Europe hath the longest Sword? The powerful Hand that deals our Crowns and Kingdoms all around us, may it not in Time reach out a King to us too? Are there no Pretensions to our Crown that can ever be revived? — Or are Popery and Ambition become tame and quiet Neighbours?

These uneasy Questions are enough to satisfy any Briton, that we can neither know our Security, nor be sensible of our Danger from any partial View of our Condition, or from Appearances on one Side only. Our Condition cannot be judged of, but from the Circumstances of the Affairs of *Europe* in general, as well as of *Great Britain* in particular.

That I may represent this with the more Advantage, and put every thing in its proper View, I cannot but look back on the glorious Scene some past Years presented us with, a Scene too glorious indeed to be forgotten, and yet too affecting to be remembred. Ambition, Tyranny and Oppression seemed not long ago to be just taking their leave of this part of the World, and ready to give place to Honour, Liberty and Justice. The *French* for near an Age had been always triumphant in their Encroachments on their Neighbours; from the number of their Troops, their early taking the Field, the Remissness of their Enemies, join'd with their happy manner of interpreting the Sense of their Leagues and Treaties they had always succeeded in every thing they undertook; the long Series of their good Fortune made them arrogate to themselves the Titles of *Intrepid and Invincible*; but the destin'd Time came, and they were to their Costs as fully convinced of their Mistake by the Bravery of the British Troops, under the Conduct of her Majesty's late General, the great Duke of *Marlborough*,

As this wonderful Instrument of Providence carried in his Fortune the Fate of the British People, who can forbear to run over the good Events that happen'd under him, and the Honours paid to him, both which are recited not as they are personal to himself, but as they concern the British Name and Nation, which he represented.

The first Thing that meets my Imagination is, the French Army broken, routed, flying over the Plain of *Blenheim*, and choosing rather to throw themselves headlong into the *Danube*, than Face about upon their Conqueror. I see the just Honours done him by the Emperor, and the whole Empire: I hear him with loud Acclamations acknowledged the Deliverer of Europe. He is introduced into the College of Princes, and takes Possession of the

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Principality of Mindelheim. Triumphal Columns are erected in the Plains of Blenheim, recording the seasonable Assistance of the British Arms, and the Glories of that immortal Day.

The British Leader returns from the Danube to the Rhine; he and his brave Companions are the Delight of the Nations through whom they March, and are stiled their Good, their Guardian Angels. — After passing so many different Nations in a triumphant Manner, he Lands in his own Country, an humble, untended Subject, honouring and adorning his Nation by Privacy and Modesty at Home, much more than by the highest Triumphs and Ostentations Abroad.

The Queen and Senate pass in Religious Pomp to thank the Almighty for Victory over the then common Oppressor. But the Prospect does not end here; the Plains of Ramillies are a new Scene of Glory to the Confederate Arms; and a second happy Day ends the Bondage of many Cities.

His most Christian Majesty conceives new Hopes from changing his Generals, and from the Conduct of *Vendosme*, promises himself to repair the Diminution of his Glory by Villeroy.

The Branches of his Royal Family, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, are to animate the Soldiery by their Presents; but Vendosme, Burgunny, and Berry, are not strong enough for the Genius of the Duke of Marlborough at Oudenard.

The French still change their General and Villars is in Command. He soon Shares the same Fate with his Predecessors, by being beaten out of his Camp by an inferior Number of Troops. A Camp so strong by Nature and Art, that as none but the Duke of Marlborough would have attempted it, so none but that consummate Captain at the Head of his brave Countrymen could have succeeded in it. In short, methinks I see Ostend, Menin, Lisle, Tournay, Mons, Aire, Doway, and innumerable other Towns held impregnable, all besieged, taken and restored to their lawful Prince and ancient Liberties.

The English General, during the Course of Ten Campaigns, Besieged no Town but what he took, Attacked no Army but what he Routed, and returned each Year with the Humility of a private Man.

If beating the Enemy in the Field, and being too vigilant for their Councils in Foreign Courts, were effectual Means towards Ending the War, and Reducing them to a Condition too low for giving fresh Disturbance to Europe; the Duke of Marlborough took just Measures; but, however unaccountable it may appear to Posterity, that General was not permitted to enjoy the Fruits of his glorious Labour; but as France changed her Generals for want of Success in their Conduct, so Britain changes hers after an un-
interrupted

rupted Series of Conquest. The minds of the People, against all common Sense, are debauch'd with Impressions of the Duke's Affectation of prolonging the War for his own Glory; and his Adversaries attack a Reputation, which could not well be impaired without sullyng the Glory of Great Britain it self; his Enemies were not to be softened by that Consideration; he is dismissed, and soon after a Suspension of Arms between Great Britain and France is Proclaimed at the Head of the Armies. The British, in the midst of the Enemies Garrisons, withdraw themselves from their Confederates. The French, now no longer having the Britons, or their great Leader to fear, affect no more strong Garrisons and fortified Camps; but Attack and Rout the Earl of Albermarle at Denin, and necessitate the brave Prince Eugene to abandon Landrecy, a place of such Importance that it gave Entrance into the Heart of France, of which the French King was so sensible, that before he was recovered from his Fright, he acknowledged he in a Manner owed his Crown to the Suspension of Arms between him and Great Britain. The Suspension is followed by a Treaty of Peace at Utrecht. The Peace is concluded between Great Britain and France; and between France and the States General. The Emperor and the Empire continue the War. I shall not presume to enter into an Examination of the Articles of Peace between us and France; but there can be no Crime in affirming, (if it be a Truth) that the House of *Bourbon* is at this Juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an Universal Monarchy, and to Engross the whole Trade of Europe, than it did before the War.

All the World knows with what Frankness the Dutch have been treated to deliver up Traerbach to the Imperialists, as an Expedient for the French to Besiege it; because, forsooth, it lay convenient for their IncurSIONS upon the Empire. This extravagant Demand must give a melancholy Prospect to other Nations.

The most important Article between France and England is the Demolishing of Dunkirk, which they have begun contemptuously and Arbitrarily, their own Way: The Mole and Harbour, which only are dreadful to us, are yet untouched, and just Suspicions given that they ever will be.

Landau and Friburgh are taken; and in case there is no immediate Peace, which may still be more immediately fatal to us, Two hundred thousand French may be ready in the Spring to invade the Empire, and restore the Duke of Bavaria to his forfeited Dominions.

These Incidents happen, when the Capital of Austria, the Residence of his Imperial Majesty, is visited with the Plague. The Male Line of that House is likely to terminate in himself; and should it please God to take him off, and no King of the Roman

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chosen, a Prince of the House of Bourbon would probably bid fair for the Imperial Dignity ; after which Day farewell Liberty Europe would be French.

But the Scene is not yet closed. Portugal, which during the War, supplied to us the Place of Spain, by sending us vast Quantities of Gold in exchange for our Woollen Manufactures, has only at present Suspension of Arms for its Protection, which Suspension may possibly last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced ; and who knows but the old Pretensions of Spain to Portugal may be then revived. I mention the Catalonians, but who can Name the Catalonians without a Tear ! Brave unhappy People ! drawn into the War by the Encouragement of the Maritime Powers, from which only a Nation encompassed by Land by France and Spain could hope for Relief and Protection, now abandoned and exposed to the Resentment of an enraged Prince, whose Person and Interest they have always opposed ; and yet still so fond of their Ancient Liberties, that tho' hemm'd up in a Nook of Land by the Forces of the two Crowns, and closely besieged in Barcelona, they chuse rather, like their Counttymen, the famous Saguntines of old, to perish with their Wives and Children, than live in Slavery. Did the French King, with a Conquering Sword in his Hand, ever abandon the least and most inconsiderable of all his Allies ? No. When these very Catalonians had assisted him against the King of Spain, he did not give up his Power of Treating till he had made the most Honourable Conditions for them, not a single Man amongst them was then hurt either in his Person or Priviledge ; but now ——— Poor unhappy Catalonians, worthy of a better Fate ! Good and gracious God ! to whom shall be attributed the Loss of this brave People ! dreadful the Doom of those who shall in thy sight be esteemed their Destroyers !

But to bring these several Facts and Circumstances home, we must observe, that the Person who seems to be the most favoured by the French King in the late Treaties is the Duke of Savoy, who is made King of Sicily ; and considering also the enlargement of his Territories on the Continent, by Cession from the Emperor, is become the most powerful Prince in Italy. This Prince put in his Claim to the Crown of England, in the Right of his Wife, a Daughter of the late Dutchess of Orleans, Sister to our late King Charles the Second, at the time of settling the Crown of England on the House of Hanover. This Prince, a Man of as great Address and Capacity as any now living, is supposed to have entred into a Secret and strict Alliance with the House of Bourbon, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a Popish Successor.

Things standing thus, and the House of Bourbon being in the Actual Possession of France and Spain, bidding fair for the Conquest

of Germany, or in Peace and good Understanding with it; what have Great Britain and Holland to hope from, but the Mercy of France? What else have we to prevent the Pretender's being imposed on us, when France shall think fit; nay, in failure of one Pretender, he has in his Quiver a Succession of them; the Dutchess of Savoy, or Her Sons, or the Dauphin her Grandson. The last Named cannot be many Years from the Throne of France.

In the next place how are we disposed at home, for the Reception of such an Attempt? The Passions of many, which were raised so high by an Impudent Suggestion of the Church's Danger, seem to have subsided into a Lethargick Unconcern for every thing else; Harmless Men are ashamed to own, how grossly they have been imposed upon; and instead of resenting the Abuse, are willing to overlook it, with a certain reluctance against being moved at any thing else; least they should fall into the Mortification of being misled a second time. Many who are above being blinded by Popular Noise and Outcry, yet seem to think the Warmth and Zeal of a Publick Spirit to be little better than a Romantick Heat of Brain. Treasonable Books lately dispersed amongst us, that have apparently struck at the Protestant Succession in the House of Hannover, have passed almost without Observation from the Generality of the People; Subtile Queries have been Published, about the Birth of a certain Person, which certain Person every Body knows to be intended for the Pretender; The Author of the Conduct of the Allies has dared to drop Insinuations about altering the Succession; and a late Treasonable Book, on the Subject of Hereditary Right, has published the Will of King Henry the Eighth, which seems to be intended as a Pattern for the like Occasion.

The Conversion of the Pretender to our Religion, has been occasionally Reported, and Contradicted, according to the Reception it met with among the soft Fools, who give that gross Story a hearing: The unhappy Prince, whose Son the Pretender calls himself, is a memorable Instance, how much such Conversions are to be depended upon. King James, when Duke of York, for a long time professed himself a Protestant; and even not long before his Accession to the Crown, several Persons had Actions brought against them for saying he was a Papist, and exorbitant Damages given and recovered; in a word, from the Practice of all Papists that have come to Protestant Thrones, upon pretence of embracing the Reformed Religion, we have reason to believe they have Dispensations from Rome to personate any thing, for the Service of that Church. A Popish Prince will never think himself obliged by the most solemn, even the Coronation Oath, to his protestant Subjects. All Oaths are as insignificant and as soon forgotten, as the Services done by such protestant Subjects.

King James, when Duke of York, was preserved from the Bill of Exclusion, by the Church of England, and particularly its Bishops when he came to the Crown, the Church was soon insulted and outraged by him, and Her Prelates committed to the Tower.

Has not a Neighbouring Prince cruelly Treated and Banished his protestant Subjects, who preserved the Crown on his Head?

Did not the Princess Mary promise the Men of Suffolk, who joyned with Her against the Lady Jane Grey, that she would make no Alteration in the Religion Established by Her Brother King Edward the Sixth? And yet as soon as she came to the Crown, by the Assistance even of the Suffolk Men, she filled all England, and in a particular manner that County, with the Flames of Martyrs. The Cruelties of that Reign were such, that Multitudes of Men, Women and Children, were burnt for being Zealous Professors of the gospel of the L. Jesus. In short, nothing less than this can be expected from a Popish Prince; both Clergy and Laity must share the same Fate, all universally must submit to the fiery Tryal, or renounce their Religion. Our Bishops and Clergy must all lose their Spiritual Preferments, or submit to all Antichristian Tyranny: And should they submit to every thing, they must notwithstanding part from their Wives and Children, which, according to the Church of Rome, are Harlots and Spurious. The Laity, possessed of Lands that formerly belonged to the Roman Catholick Clergy, must resign their Estates, and perhaps be made accountable for the Profits received.

What can be more moving, than to reflect upon the Barbarous Cruelties of Papists beyond all Example: And these not accidental, or the sudden Effects of Passion or Provocation, but the settled Result of their Religion and their Consciences.

Above 100000 Men, Women and Children were murdered in the Massacre of Ireland. How hot and terrible were the late Persecutions of the Protestants in France and Savoy? How frequent were the Massacres of Protestants through the whole Kingdom of France, when they were under the protection of the then Laws of that Country? How Barbarous, in a particular manner, was the Massacre of Paris, at the Marriage of the King of Navarre, the French King's Grandfather, a Protestant, with the Sister of Charles the Ninth, where the Famous Admiral of France, the great Coligny, the glorious Asserter of the Protestant Interest, was inhumanly murdered, and the Body of that Hero dragged Naked about the Streets; and this by the Direction of the King himself, who had but just before most treacherously given him, from his own Mouth, Assurance of his Protection? Ten thousand Protestants, without Distinction of Quality, Age or Sex, were put to the Sword at the same time; the King of Navarre

himself narrowly escaped this Disaster, his Mother the Queen of Navarre having not long before been poysoned by the same Faction.

These are some Instances of what must ever be expected. No Obligations on our side, no Humanity or Natural Probity on theirs, are of any weight; their very Religion forces them, upon pain of Damnation, to forget and cancel the former, and extinguish all Remains of the latter. Good God! To what are they reserved, who have nothing to expect but what such a Religion can afford them? It cannot therefore be too often repeated. We should consider, over and over again, that should the Chain of the protestant Succession be once broke in upon, tho' the Pretender should be laid aside, the next of the Blood Royal is the Dutches of Savoy; after Her, her two Sons; after them, the present Dauphin of France; the next in Succession to him the Queen of Spain and her Heirs; in Default of them, the Duke of Orleans, and his Heirs, and most of the other Princes of the Blood of France, all papists, who may be enabled to demand Preference to the House of Hanover; so that besides the probability of this Kingdom's being United to, and made a Province of France, the Train of popish Princes is so great, that if one should not compleat the utter Extirpation of our Religion, Laws and Liberties, the rest would certainly do it.

And here I cannot but add what is still of more Importonce, and ought to be the most prevalent of all Arguments, that should there be the least Hopes given to a popish Successor, the Life of Her Majesty will certainly be in most imminent Danger; for there will never be wanting bloody Zealots of that persuasion, that will think it meritorious to take away her Majesty's Life, to hasten the Accession of such a Successor to her Throne.

The only preservation against these Terroures are the Laws before-mentioned relating to the Settlement of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain. Thanks be to Heaven for that Settlement. The Princess Sophia, and the Heirs of her Body, being protestants, are the Successors to her present Majesty, upon her Demise without Issue. The way is plain before our eyes, guarded on the right hand and on the left, by all the sanctions of God and man, and by all the Ties of Law and Conscience. Let those who act under the present Settlement, and yet pretend to dispute for an Absolute Hereditary Right, quiet themselves with the Arguments they have borrowed from popery, and teach their own Consciences the Art of dispensing with the most solemn Oath to this Establishment, whilst they think themselves bound only till Opportunity shall serve to introduce another. God be thanked neither we, nor our Cause, stand

in need of such detestable Prevarication. Our Cause is our Happiness. Our Oaths are our Judgment and Inclination. Honour and Affection calls us, without the Solemnity of an Oath, to defend such an Establishment; but with it we have every Motive that can influence the Mind of Man, The Terrors of God, added to the Demands of our Country, oblige and constrain us to let our Hearts and our Hands follow our Wishes and our Consciences; and out of Regard to our Queen, our Religion, our Country, our Liberty, and our Property, to maintain and assert the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*: It is no Time to talk with Hints and Innuendo's, but openly and honestly to profess our Sentiments, before our Enemies have compleated and put their Designs in Execution against us. As divided a People as we are, those who are for the House of *Hanover*, are infinitely superior in Number, Wealth, Courage, and all Arms Military and Civil to those in the contrary Interest: Besides which, we have the Laws, I say, the Laws on our Side. And those who by their Practices, whatever their Professions are, have discover'd themselves Enemies to the Constitution, and Friends to the Pretender, cannot make a Step farther without being guilty of Treason, without standing in broad Day-light, confessed Criminals against their injured Queen and Country.

When the People were in a Ferment, when Faction ran high, with irresistible Prepossessions against every Thing in its former Channel, sanguine Men might conceive Hopes of leading them their own Way. But the Building erected upon the Quicksand, the Favour of the Multitude will sink, and be swallowed up by that treacherous Ground on which the Foundation was laid.

It is easie to Project the Subversion of a People, when Men see them unaccountably turned for their own Destruction; but not so easie to effect that Ruin, when they are come to themselves, and are sensibly and reasonably affected with Thoughts for their Preservation. We cannot help it, if so many Thousands of our brave Brethren, who laid down their Lives against the Power of France, have dyed in vain; but we may value our own Lives dearly, like honest Men. Whatever may befall the Glory and Wealth of Great Britain, let us struggle to the last Drop of our Blood for its Religion and Liberty. The Banner under which we are to enter this Conflict, whenever we are called to it, are the Laws mention'd in this Discourse, when we do not keep them in Sight, we have no Colours to fly to, no Discipline to preserve us, but are devoured, and have given our selves up to Slaughter and Confusion.

While

While we act manfully under them, we have Reason to expect the Blessing and Assistance of Heaven on its own Cause, which it has so manifestly acknowledg'd to be such, by our many wonderful Deliverances, when all humane Assistances and ordinary Means of Succour seem'd irrevocably removed. We have no Pretensions to the Divine Favour, but from our firm Adherence to that Settlement, which He has, by so many Wonders and Blessings, after such great Difficulties and Misfortunes, bestowed upon us, and which we have in his Sight, and with the Invocation of his Sacred Name, after preparing our Selves at his Altar, so frequently and solemnly Sworn to defend, This plain, and perplexed, unalterable Rule for our Conduct, is visibly the Work of his Hand to a favoured People. Her Majesty's Parliamentary Title, and the Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, is the Ark of God to *Great Britain*, and, like that of Old, carries Death to the profane Hand that shall dare to touch it.

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